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57TH CONGRESS, }  
1st Session.

SENATE.

{ DOCUMENT  
No. 191.

FOR THE REENACTMENT  
OF THE  
CHINESE EXCLUSION LAW.

CALIFORNIA'S MEMORIAL

TO THE

PRESIDENT AND THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

ADOPTED BY

THE CHINESE EXCLUSION CONVENTION, CALLED BY THE BOARD OF SUPERVISORS  
OF THE CITY AND COUNTY OF SAN FRANCISCO, AND COMPOSED OF 3,000  
DELEGATES FROM STATE, COUNTY, AND MUNICIPAL BODIES,  
CIVIC, LABOR, AND COMMERCIAL ORGANIZATIONS, HELD  
AT METROPOLITAN TEMPLE, SAN FRANCISCO,  
CAL., NOVEMBER 21 AND 22, 1901.

NOTE: See Appendix for list of delegates to Chinese Exclusion Convention,  
San Francisco, November 21 and 22, 1901.

WASHINGTON:  
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE.  
1902.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

*February 13, 1902.*

*Ordered,* That there be printed in pamphlet form one thousand copies of California's memorial to the President and the Congress of the United States, praying for the reenactment of the Chinese exclusion law, adopted by the Chinese exclusion convention, called by the board of supervisors of the city and county of San Francisco, held at the Metropolitan Temple, San Francisco, California, November twenty-first and twenty-second, nineteen hundred and one, five hundred copies to be for the use of the Senate and five hundred copies to be for the use of the House of Representatives.

Attest:

CHARLES G. BENNETT,  
*Secretary.*

## CHINESE EXCLUSION.

METROPOLITAN TEMPLE,  
*Thursday, November 21, 1901.*

The Chinese exclusion convention was called to order by Hon. James D. Phelan, mayor of the city and county of San Francisco, and Hon. Thomas J. Gerry, acting both as temporary and permanent chairman. In accordance with a resolution adopted by the convention, the following-named gentlemen were appointed a commission to represent the convention and its purposes at Washington, viz: Mayor James D. Phelan, Truxton Beale, Andrew Furnseth, Hon. J. H. Budd, and Edward J. Livernash.

This commission was also duly accredited by the governor of the State of California, as representing the Commonwealth of California.

The committee on memorial and resolution, whose names are attached to the report, presented the following memorial which was unanimously adopted:

### MEMORIAL.

*To the President and the Congress of the United States:*

Pursuant to a call officially issued by the city of San Francisco, there assembled in that city on the 21st day of November, 1901, for the purpose of expressing the sentiments of the State of California on the reenactment of Chinese-exclusion laws, a convention composed of State officers, representatives of county supervisors, city councils, trade, labor, commercial, and civic organizations, to the number of 3,000, and without dissent it was resolved to memorialize the President and the Congress of the United States as follows:

Soon after the negotiation of the Burlingame treaty, in 1868, large numbers of Chinese coolies were brought to this country under contract. Their numbers so increased that in 1878 the people of the State made a practically unanimous demand for the restriction of the immigration. Our white population suffered in every department of labor and trade, having in numerous instances been driven out of employment by the competition of the Chinese. The progress of the State was arrested because so long as the field was occupied by Chinese a new and desirable immigration was impossible. After a bitter struggle remedial legislation was passed in 1882, and was renewed in 1892, and by treaty with China, in 1894, exclusion became a matter of international agreement, to run for a period of ten years. Your memorialists, in view of the fact that the present so-called Geary law expires by limitation on May 5 next, and learning that you have been petitioned against its reenactment, believe that it is necessary for them to repeat and to reaffirm the reasons which, in their judgment, require the reenactment and the continued enforcement of the law.

### EFFECTS OF EXCLUSION.

The effects of Chinese exclusion have been most advantageous to the State. The 75,000 Chinese residents of California, in 1880, have been

reduced, according to the last census, to 45,600; and whereas the white settlement of California by Caucasians had been arrested prior to the adoption of these laws, a healthy growth of the State in population has marked the progress of recent years. Every material interest of the State has advanced, and prosperity has been our portion. Were the restriction laws relaxed we are convinced that our working population would be displaced, and the noble structure of our State, the creation of American ideas and industry, would be imperiled, if not destroyed. The lapse of time has only confirmed your memorialists in their conviction, from their knowledge derived from actual coming in contact with the Chinese, that they are a nonassimilative race, and by every standard of American thought undesirable as citizens. Although they have been frequently employed and treated with decent consideration ever since the enactment of the exclusion law in 1882, which was the culmination and satisfaction of California's patriotic purpose, they have not in any sense altered their racial characteristics, and have not, socially or otherwise, assimilated with our people. To quote the Imperial Chinese consul-general in San Francisco: "They work more cheaply than whites; they live more cheaply; they send their money out of the country to China; most of them have no intention of remaining in the United States, and they do not adopt American manners, but live in colonies and not after the American fashion."

#### THE CHINESE ARE NONASSIMILATIVE.

Until this year no statute had been passed by the State forbidding their intermarriage with the whites, and yet during their long residence but few intermarriages have taken place, and the offspring has been invariably degenerate. It is well established that the issue of the Caucasian and the Mongolian do not possess the virtues of either, but develop the vices of both. So physical assimilation is out of the question.

It is well known that the vast majority of Chinese do not bring their wives with them in their immigration because of their purpose to return to their native land when a competency is earned. Their practical status among us has been that of single men competing at low wages against not only men of our own race, but men who have been brought up by our civilization to family life and civic duty. They pay little taxes; they support no institutions—neither school, church, nor theater; they persistently violate our laws and have tribunals of their own; they remain steadfastly, after all these years, a permanently foreign element. The purpose, no doubt, for enacting the exclusion laws for periods of ten years is due to the intention of Congress of observing the progress of those people under American institutions, and now it has been clearly demonstrated that they can not, for the deep and ineradicable reasons of race and mental organization, assimilate with our own people and be molded as are other races into strong and composite American stock.

#### AN UNDESIRABLE IMMIGRATION.

We respectfully represent that their presence excludes a desirable population, and that there is no necessity whatever for their immigration. The immigration laws of this country now exclude pauper and contract labor from every land. All Chinese immigration of the cooly class is both pauper and contract labor. It is not a voluntary immi-



gration. The Six Chinese Companies of California deal in Chinese labor as a commodity. Prior to the exclusion they freely imported coolies, provided for them, farmed out their services, and returned them—and their bones, if they should die, pursuant to a superstitious belief—to their native land.

America is the asylum for the oppressed and liberty-loving people of the world, and the implied condition of admission to this country is allegiance to its Government and devotion to its institutions. It is hardly necessary to say that the Chinese are not even bona fide settlers, as the Imperial Chinese consul-general admits.

#### DESTRUCTIVE COMPETITION.

We respectfully represent that American labor should not be exposed to the destructive competition of aliens who do not, will not, and can not take up the burdens of American citizenship, whose presence is an economic blight and a patriotic danger. It has been urged that the Chinese are unskilled and that they create wealth in field, mine, and forest, which ultimately redounds to the benefit of the white skilled workingman. The Chinese are skilled and are capable of almost any skilled employment. They have invaded the cigar, shoe, broom, chemical, clothing, fruit-canning, match-making, and woollen manufacturing industries, and have displaced more than 4,000 white men in these several employments in the city of San Francisco. As common laborers they have throughout California displaced tens of thousands of men. But this country is not solely concerned even in a coldly economic sense with the production of wealth. The United States has now a greater per capita of working energy than any other land. If it is stimulated by a nonassimilative and nonconsuming race, there is a grave danger of overproduction and stagnation. The home market should grow with the population. But the Chinese living on the most meager food, having no families to support, inured to deprivation, and hoarding their wages for use in their native land, whither they invariably return, can not in any sense be regarded as consumers. Their earnings do not circulate, nor are they reinvested—contrary to those economic laws which make for the prosperity of nations. For their services they may be said to be paid twice—first by their employer and then by the community. If we must have protection, is it not far better for us to protect ourselves against the man than against his trade?

#### WEALTH PRODUCTION AND LABOR PROBLEMS.

Our opponents maintain that the admission of the Chinese would cause an enlargement of our national wealth and a great increase of production, but the distribution of wealth, not its production, is to-day our most serious public question. In this age of science and invention, the production of wealth can well be left to take care of itself. It is its equitable distribution that must now be the concern of the country.

The increasing recurrence of strikes in modern times must have convinced everyone that their recent settlement is nothing more than a truce. It is not a permanent industrial peace. The new organization of capital and labor that is now necessary to bring about lasting peace and harmony between those engaged in production will require greater sympathy, greater trust and confidence, and a clearer mutual understanding between the employers and the employed. Any such new organization will require a closer union to be formed between them.

Those requirements can never be fulfilled between the individuals of races so alien to one another as ourselves and the Chinese.

The Chinese are only capable of working under the present unsatisfactory system. All progress, then, to an improved organization of capital and labor would be arrested. We might have greater growth, but never greater development. It was estimated by the Commissioner of Labor that there were a million idle men in the United States in 1886. Certainly the 76,000 Chinese in California at that time stood for 76,000 white men waiting for employment, and the further influx of Chinese in any considerable numbers would precipitate the same condition again, if not, indeed, make it chronic. If the United States increases in population at the rate of 12 per cent per decade, it will have nearly 230,000,000 of people in one hundred years. Our inventive genius and the constant improvements being made in machinery will greatly increase our per capita productive capacity. If it be our only aim to increase our wealth and to hold our own in the markets of the world, are we not, without the aid of Chinese coolies, capable of doing it, and at the same time preserve the character of our population and insure the perpetuity of our institutions? It is not wealth at any cost that sound public policy requires, but that the country be developed with equal pace with the growth of a desirable population, which stands not only for industry but also for citizenship.

In their appeal to the cupidity of farmers and orchardists, the proponents of Chinese immigration have stated that the Chinese are only common laborers, and by this kind of argument they have attempted to disarm the skilled labor organizations of the country; but we have shown you that the Chinese are skilled and are capable of becoming skilled. As agriculturists they have crowded out the native population and driven the country boy from the farm to the city, where he meets their skilled competition in many branches of industry; but shall husbandry be abandoned to a servile class? Shall the boys and girls of the fields and of the orchards be deprived of their legitimate work in the harvest? Shall not our farmers be encouraged to look to their own households and to their own neighbors for labor? Shall the easy methods of contract employment be fostered? We are warned by history that the free population of Rome was driven by slave labor from the country into the city, where they became a mob and a rabble, ultimately compassing the downfall of the Republic. The small farms were destroyed, and under an overseer large farms were cultivated, which led Pliny to remark that "great estates ruined Italy."

#### SERVILE LABOR—THE WARNINGS OF EXPERIENCE.

The experience of the South with slave labor warns us against unlimited Chinese immigration, considered both as a race question and as an economic problem. The Chinese, if permitted to freely enter this country, would create race antagonisms which might provoke domestic disturbance. The Caucasian will not tolerate the Mongolian. As ultimately all government is based on physical force, the white population of this country will not, without resistance, suffer themselves to be destroyed. Chinese coolies can not but be designated as servile labor. It is repugnant to our form of society and to our ideas of government to segregate a labor class and regard it only as its capacity for work. If we were to return to the antebellum ideas of the South, now happily discarded, the Chinese would satisfy every requirement of a slave or servile class. They work incessantly; they are docile

and they would not be concerned about their political condition. But such suggestions are opposed to American civilization. America has dignified work and made it honorable. Manhood gives title to rights, and the Government, being ruled by majorities, is largely controlled by the very class which servile labor would supersede—the free and independent workingmen of America. The political power invested in men by this Government shows the absolute necessity of keeping up the standard of population and not permitting it to deteriorate by contact with inferior and nonassimilative races.

#### THE PRESERVATION OF OUR CIVILIZATION.

But this is not alone a race, labor, and political question. It is one which involves our civilization and appeals to the people of the world. The benefactors, scholars, soldiers, and statesmen—the patriots and martyrs of mankind—have builded our modern fabric firmly upon the foundation of religion, law, science, and art. It has been rescued from barbarism and protected against the incursions of barbarians. Civilization in Europe has been frequently attacked and imperiled by the barbaric hordes of Asia. If the little band of Greeks at Marathon had not beaten back ten times their number of Asiatic invaders, it is impossible to estimate the loss to civilization that would have ensued. When we contemplate what modern civilization owes to the two centuries of Athenian life, from which we first learned our lessons of civil and intellectual freedom, we can see how necessary it was to keep the Asiatic from breaking into Europe. Attila and his Asiatic hordes threatened Central Europe, when the Gauls made their successful stand against them. The wave of Asiatic barbarism rolled back and civilization was again saved. The repulse of the Turks, who are of the Mongolian race, before Vienna, finally made our civilization strong enough to take care of itself, and the danger of extinction by a military invasion from Asia had passed away. But a peaceful invasion is more dangerous than a warlike attack. We can meet and defend ourselves against an open foe, but an insidious foe, under our generous laws, would be in possession of the citadel before we were aware. The free immigration of Chinese would be for all purposes an invasion by Asiatic barbarians against whom civilization in Europe, fortunately for us, has been frequently defended. It is our inheritance to keep it pure and uncontaminated, as it is our purpose and destiny to broaden and enlarge it. We are trustees for mankind.

#### BETTERMENT OF CHINA.

In an age when the brotherhood of man has become more fully recognized, we are not prepared to overlook the welfare of the Chinaman himself. We need have nothing on our national conscience, because the Chinaman has a great industrial destiny in his own country. Few realize that China is yet a sparsely populated country. Let its merchants, travelers, teachers, and students then come here as before to carry back to China the benefits of our improvements and experiments. Let American ideas of progress and enterprise be planted on Chinese soil. Our commerce with China since 1880 has increased more than 50 per cent. Our consular service (August, 1901) reports that "the United States is second only to Great Britain in goods sold to the Chinese. The United States buys more goods from China than does any other nation, and her total trade with China, exports and imports,

equals that of Great Britain, not including the colonies, and is far ahead of that of any other country."

Commerce is not sentimental and has not been affected by our legislation. The Chinese Government, knowing the necessity of the situation and being familiar with the fact that almost every country has imposed restrictions upon the immigration of Chinese coolies, does not regard our attitude as an unfriendly act. Indeed, our legislation has been confirmed by treaty. Nor are the Chinese unappreciative of the friendship of the United States recently displayed in saving possibly the Empire from dismemberment. So, therefore, America is at no disadvantage in its commercial dealings with China on account of the domestic policy of Chinese exclusion.

Therefore, every consideration of public duty, the nation's safety and the people's rights, the preservation of our civilization and the perpetuity of our institutions, impel your memorialists to ask for the reenactment of the exclusion laws, which have for twenty years protected us against the gravest dangers, and which, were they relaxed, would imperil every interest which the American people hold sacred for themselves and their posterity.

Senator JOHN F. DAVIS,  
Mayor JAMES D. PHELAN,  
W. MACARTHUR,  
Senator SMITH (of Kern),  
A. C. CAMINETTI,

*At Large,*

FRANK WEHE,  
J. D. CONNOLLY,  
F. M. ANGELOTTI,

*First District,*

P. T. JOHNSTON (of Sacramento),  
W. W. MIDDLECOFF,  
JAMES DEVINE,

*Second District,*

L. B. LEAVITT,  
ALDEN ANDERSON,  
EDWARD LEAKE,

*Third District,*

M. CASEY,  
SAMUEL BRAUNHART,  
GUY LATHROP,

*Fourth District,*

H. RYAN (of San Jose),  
H. G. W. DINKELSPIEL,  
W. M. CANNON,

*Fifth District,*

GEORGE W. HUGHES,  
Senator R. N. BULLA,  
Mayor M. P. SNYDER,

*Sixth District,*

T. B. ECKELS,  
VICTOR MONTGOMERY,  
J. H. GLASS,

*Seventh District,*

*Committee on Memorial and Resolutions.*

## APPENDIX.

### LIST OF DELEGATES TO THE CALIFORNIA CHINESE EXCLUSION CONVENTION.

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., NOVEMBER 21 AND 22, 1901.

#### CITY COUNCILS AND DELEGATES.

- Alameda. Trustees: J. F. Forderer, A. F. Mackie, G. R. Miller, B. E. Coombs, Charles J. Hammond. Delegates: Col. J. J. Tobin, J. N. Young, C. C. Volberg, Charles W. Von Radesky, George C. Babcock.
- Anaheim. Trustees: W. O. F. Schwenckert, Peter Weisel, J. J. Schneider, H. A. Dickel, J. Helmsen.
- Antioch. Trustees: J. R. Baker, W. S. George, P. Abbott, R. Harkinson, J. F. Belshaw.
- Auburn. Trustees: J. W. Morgan, G. F. Huber, John Adams, F. W. Wildman, W. A. Freeman.
- Azusa. Trustees: H. A. Williams, O. M. Burt, E. R. Jeffrey, W. J. Wade, C. C. Casey.
- Arcata. Trustees: B. M. Adams, Thomas Delvin, J. M. Moore, S. B. Jacobs, W. T. Kennedy.
- Bakersfield. Trustees: R. McDonald, H. H. Fish, T. E. Harding, J. E. Bailey, Wilmot Lovell. Delegates: T. H. Eckles, C. J. Cummons, J. H. P. Laird, J. R. Williams, J. F. Bosyl.
- Berkeley. Trustees: M. L. Ryder, W. H. Marston, Thomas Dowd, Thomas Rickards, R. C. Staats.
- Belvedere. Trustees: J. W. Pew, L. L. Dunbar, V. J. A. Rey, A. S. Spence, E. J. Benjamin.
- Benicia. Trustees: W. L. Crooks, John Quarney, George W. Stevens, Charles Durner, James T. Gormley.
- Chico. Trustees: O. L. Clark, L. H. Burkett, F. M. Mecum, E. E. Canfield, E. A. Warren, J. McStilson.
- Colusa. Trustees: R. Cosner, A. J. Hawkins, J. F. Rich, Oscar Robinson, Owen Sullivan.
- Corona. Trustees: A. P. Kelley, W. G. McVicar, W. Corkhill, A. Compton, I. H. Moore. Delegates: I. M. Seares, Fred L. Sexton, E. A. MacGillivray, I. A. Newton, G. R. Freeman.
- Cloverdale. Trustees: John Field, W. J. Flinn, George W. Coe, A. S. Marshall, A. C. Koester.
- Colton. Trustees: R. J. Martin, C. Medhurst, R. H. Franklin, M. A. Murphy, A. S. Fox, E. A. Pettijohn.
- Crescent City. Trustees: A. W. Engley, R. F. Williams, W. F. Griffin.

- Calistoga. Trustees: C. W. Armstrong, William Spiers, A. Hubbs, A. D. Rogers, M. A. Maclean.
- Coronado. Trustees: John Fitzgerald, C. W. Robinson, C. B. Daggett, Herbert Dabney.
- Dixon. Trustees: C. C. Donoho, A. Kirby, M. P. Carpenter, J. A. Kerr, J. F. Cowden.
- El Paso de Robles. Trustees: E. Lachner, T. Brooks, W. O. Dresser, H. Nelson, A. Brendlin. Delegates: Dr. J. H. Glass, B. B. Pierce, R. W. Putnam, A. Montieth, C. Seideman.
- Emeryville. Trustees: W. H. Christie, J. T. Doyle, J. S. Emery, F. J. Stoer, W. Fieldwick. Delegates: H. Remillard, H. A. Randlett, Joseph Lord, E. Steward, George E. Spinney.
- Eureka. Trustees: A. W. Torrey (mayor), A. H. Buhne, James F. Coonan, H. A. Poland, A. C. Dauphiny, F. Ziegler.
- Elsinore. Trustees: S. A. Stewart, C. S. Traphagen, T. E. Ellis, H. K. White, A. S. Ward.
- Escondido. Trustees: W. H. Baldrige, C. T. Haney, J. H. Sampson, F. H. Chapin.
- Fresno. Trustees: Mayor L. O. Stephens, W. W. Eden, J. B. Myers, Horace Hawes, J. P. Strother, G. M. Boles, S. F. Cowan, W. J. O'Neill, Thomas Dunn.
- Fort Bragg. Trustees: F. A. Whipple, G. Nelson, Henry Mulson, J. J. Morrow, Benjamin Culbert.
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- Hollister. Trustees: William Palmtag, Hiram Pond, R. F. Shinn, Grant Wills, John T. Lowe.
- Healdsburg. Trustees: H. H. Payne, D. S. Merchant, J. Favour, J. T. Coffman, W. Betsgett.
- Hanford. Trustees: S. E. Biddle, J. W. Burgess, J. H. Farley, W. Abbott, W. H. Camp.
- Haywards. Trustees: C. W. Heyer, M. C. Peterson, H. E. Brunner, A. J. Powell, P. J. Crosby. Delegates: George A. Oakes, Oscar Morgan, G. Toyne, John E. Geary, John A. Obermuller.
- Kern. Trustees: J. W. Shaffer, J. Curran, J. D. Haynes, J. P. Dougherty, P. Gillispie. Delegates: A. W. Marion, J. S. Moore, J. R. Williams, S. N. Scott, James L. Depauli.
- Long Beach. Trustees: C. J. Walker, C. A. Stephens, G. D. Sandford, J. J. Hart, A. B. Caldwell.
- Los Angeles. Trustees: M. P. Snyder (mayor), W. H. Pierce, George P. McLain, Frank Walker, P. W. Powers, M. W. Bowen, A. A. Allen, Ben Lauder, R. A. Todd, E. L. Blanchard. Delegates: R. N. Bulla, R. F. Del Valle, H. Jevne, Byron Oliver.
- Los Gatos. Trustees: T. J. Davis, D. C. Crumey, J. H. Lyndon, C. M. Sullivan, G. R. Lewis.
- Livermore. Trustees: D. J. Murphy, C. S. Victor, Thomas Knox, G. E. Kennedy, J. F. Meyers. Delegates: Hon. F. R. Fassett, Thomas Scott, J. O. McKown, John Aylward, George Beck.

- Lakeport. Trustees: W. E. Green, W. T. Whitton, S. Bruton, Joseph Levy, N. O. Smith.
- Lompoc. Trustees: W. W. Broughton, W. A. Saunders, J. P. Gury, W. L. Talbot, S. K. Schilling.
- Lincoln. Trustees: L. D. Adams, A. J. Gladding, W. Jansen, A. Blackie, Jno. Crook.
- Martinez. Trustees: W. A. Hale, J. G. Duane, Rees Jones, R. H. Latimer, E. E. Webster.
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- Nevada City. Trustees: Alex. Gault, T. Eustis, T. H. Rogers, Sidney Peard, C. W. Hill. Delegate: J. F. Colley.
- National City. Trustees: S. S. Johnston, Thomas Evans, John Fleming, George W. Deford, E. T. Osborn.
- Oakland. Trustees: Anson Barstow (mayor), B. C. Cuvellier, George W. Darwin, C. A. Bon, A. S. Ruch, J. S. Wilson, George Fitzgerald, Robert Boyer, A. W. Bishop, Louis Schaffer, J. T. Wallace, W. T. Courtney. Delegates: W. R. Davis, M. C. Chapman, C. H. Brosnahan, Charles W. Wilkins, John E. McElroy.
- Oceanside. Trustees: L. L. Scott, Charles B. Howard, W. V. Nichols, M. Pieper, John Griffin.
- Orange. Trustees: S. Armor, N. G. McTaggart, A. Meacham, A. H. Clark, O. Handy.
- Ontario. Trustees: A. D. Moore, J. P. Ensley, C. E. Harper, Peter Rotharmel, C. G. H. Bennink.
- Paloalto. Trustees: Joseph Hutchinson, C. D. Marx, J. D. Sloan, G. W. Mosher, J. S. Butler.
- Petaluma. Trustees: H. P. Brainard, M. Walsh, W. R. Veal, J. Nis- son, Dr. A. Anderson. Delegates: M. D. Hopkins, J. L. Din- widdie, F. M. Collins, Lyman Green, G. W. Lamoreaux.
- Pleasanton. Trustees: Henry Remiers, Frank Lewis, Joseph Nevis, Charles H. Scheen, H. A. Sinclair.
- Pasadena. Trustees: M. H. Weight, C. C. Reynolds, F. E. Twombly, M. Slavin, W. A. Heiss, William Sibley.
- Pacific Grove. Trustees: O. S. Trimmer, R. Fitzsimmons, A. J. Steiner, C. K. Tuttle, B. A. Eardley.
- Pomona. Trustees: W. H. Poston, E. W. Carter, L. E. Grigsby, Moses Petty, James Harvey.
- Potter Valley. Trustees: William Fiddie, G. H. Busch, William Van Fleet, E. V. Jones, Henry Hopper, Charles A. Hopkins.
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 International Longshoremen's Association No. 22. J. C. Williams, Thomas J. Mahoney, J. R. Montague.  
 International Broom Makers' Union No. 58. Wallace Sturges, Henry Stuly, Bonar Wilt.  
 Boiler Makers and Iron Shipbuilders. R. Ellis, Thomas Roabuck, Thomas Dulligan, D. F. Murphy.  
 Journeymen Shipwrights' Association. James Gass.  
 Electrical Workers No. 6. F. F. Boyd, A. C. Drendell.  
 Hackmen's Union No. 224. James Kerr, James Brown, M. Kelly.  
 Laundry Wagon Drivers No. 256. P. Tamony.  
 Marine Cooks and Stewards. Emil Carthofuer.  
 Retail Shoe Clerks No. 410. J. J. Grant, Guy Windrew.  
 Coopers' International No. 65. M. Monaghan.

## OAKLAND LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

International Association of Machinists No. 284. D. Mosse, J. G. Hill, F. A. Genung.  
 Cooks and Waiters' Alliance No. 31. Perry Conwell, M. L. Medim, Charles W. Thores.  
 Steam and Electrical Engineers' Union No. 67. S. A. Fletcher.  
 Millmen's Union No. 550. J. J. Lewis, J. Hincheon, M. F. Barclay.  
 Retail Clerks' Union No. 47. Charles A. Sinclair, J. B. Reboli, George E. Robinson.  
 Brotherhood Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers No. 127. William P. Ward, H. G. Madden, C. K. Townsend.  
 Carpenters and Joiners' Union No. 36. T. T. Frickstad, F. Murdock, L. Roberts.  
 Journeymen Barbers' Union No. 134. C. W. Presher, Abe Davis, D. F. Curley.  
 Plumbers and Gas Fitters' Union of Alameda. George Fitzgerald, J. E. Ayres, George Stoddard.  
 Shinglers' Union. F. C. Bochmer, D. E. Bell, T. J. Courtney.  
 Building Trades Council of Alameda. J. T. Kerns, J. P. Manning, E. Ringer.  
 Laundry Workers' Union. Arthur V. O'Neill, George Carrington, Aug. Clodius.  
 Cigar Makers No. 253. George Wigington, J. Holiday, George R. Permein.  
 Alameda County Federated Trades Council. C. H. Ferguson, G. K. Smith.

## SACRAMENTO LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

Mechanical Stage Hands' Union. J. H. McGinniss, Max Ginsberg.  
 Printing Pressmen's Union No. 60. D. D. Sullivan.  
 Federated Trades Council. Thomas McCabe, Frank E. Smith, Presley T. Johnston.  
 Brotherhood of Bookbinders No. 35. L. P. Williams.  
 United Brotherhood of Leather Workers. Thomas Hesson.



Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers No. 71.  
 Samuel Jennings, Lou Anderson, William T. Eaton, George N. Wood.  
 Carpenters and Joiners' Union No. 586. William Pook, C. C. Hall, J. Sabin.  
 Sacramento Typographical Union No. 46. H. Rogers, J. Alexander, Wm. Halley.  
 Plumbers' Union. Mr. Waterman.  
 Plasterers' Union. Mr. Farrell.  
 Mill Hands. P. A. Webber.  
 Shirt Waist and Laundry Workers' Union No. 75. William Ruser, D. Luheck, Lexter A. Greenlan.

## SAN JOSE LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers No. 114.  
 George W. Moody, George B. Nugent, Walter McGinley.  
 Alternates: J. Spellman, William Burns, W. H. Arment.  
 Plasterers' Union. W. W. Wyatt, Daniel Hayes, G. S. Stockwell.  
 Laborers' Protective Association. J. L. Brown.  
 Building Trades Council. Charles B. Schaefer, Harry Ryan, J. C. Finnegan.  
 Musicians' Protective Union. W. M. Herrman, H. M. McCabe, B. J. Schwartz.  
 Stablemen's Union No. 9026. D. A. Venable, Al Simpson, John Lane.  
 Cigarmakers' Union, No. 291. E. Wentel, D. J. Herel, F. J. Hepp.  
 Millmen's Union, No. 262. Charles A. Bell, Ed. White, Thomas Graham.  
 Steam Laundry Workers' Union, No. 33. Delegates: George H. Plumb, Peter Van Houte, W. Alexander. Alternates: Fred H. Tipton, James C. Carter, Albert Bender.  
 Federated Trades Council. H. Thiel, C. T. O'Connel, J. Doblin.  
 Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, No. 316. Stanley Hichborn, W. L. Yard, E. W. M. Bateman.  
 National Association Stationary Engineers. J. C. Higgins, B. F. Conley, A. E. Stanley.  
 Typographical Union, No. 231. Henry Thiel.  
 San Jose Butchers' Union, No. 130. Charles J. Connell.

## FRESNO LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers' Union, No. 294. J. F. Gallmann, J. H. Hillman, C. H. Cornellins. Alternates: George Bush, Fred Noble.  
 Brickmasons' Union. W. S. Scott, C. H. Scott, E. Reufro.  
 Butchers' Union, No. 126. Jesse M. Cook.  
 Federated Trades and Labor Council. William Groom.  
 Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, No. 126. Jesse M. Cook.

## LOS ANGELES LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

International Broom Makers' Union, No. 53. T. S. Dunn, J. T. Keane, F. Romp.  
 Council of Labor. Ed. Crowell, George H. Hewes.

Cooks' Alliance, No. 258. J. A. Brose.  
 Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters, and Steam Fitters' Helpers'  
 Union, No. 78. C. B. Bailey.  
 Shinglers' Union, No. 9253. Sanborn Howard, L. A. Swan, E. W.  
 Kiese.  
 Teamsters Union, Local 208. Lee Richardson.

## VALLEJO LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners. A. B. Willey, George  
 S. Smith, Fred Bonnell.  
 Mechanics Helpers' Union, No. 8841. D. H. Leavitt.  
 Trades and Labor Council. J. B. Dale, L. B. Leavitt, Frank Roney.

## HAYWARDS LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

Carpenters and Joiners' Union. J. Ludwig, F. Soares.  
 Randsburg Miners' Union, No. 44. T. B. Echles.  
 Tanners' Union, No. 9119, Redwood City. John J. Read, A. Mc-  
 Laughlin.  
 Tanners' Union, Benicia, No. 9112. Julius G. Opperman.  
 Building Trades Council of Bakersfield. J. Sterff.  
 Carpenters and Joiners, No. 668, of Palo Alto. F. A. Sullivan, S. W.  
 Pennington.

## SAN FRANCISCO CIVIC ORGANIZATIONS.

The Civic Federation. William Rader, D. D.; D. Gilbert Dexter,  
 J. H. Humphreys.  
 Manufacturers and Producers' Association of California. A. Shar-  
 baro, J. P. Courrier, A. C. Rulofson.  
 Western Addition Improvement Club. M. Rosenthal, J. Henderson,  
 Naph. B. Greensfelder.  
 Municipal League of San Francisco. N. Delbanco, Gustave Schnee,  
 Isidor Jacobs.  
 California State Board of Trade. W. H. Mills, C. M. Wooster, Craigie  
 Sharp.  
 Hayes Valley Improvement Club. G. A. Cutler, M. S. Cohen, Albert J.  
 Schohay.  
 Merchants' Association. Marshal Hale, Andrew M. Davis, Frank J.  
 Symmes.  
 California Colony Association. H. D. Loveland, C. H. Crocker, Wil-  
 liam M. Weil.  
 Point Lobos Improvement Club. H. U. Jaudin, George R. Fletcher,  
 O. K. Cushing.  
 Iroquois Club. William Cannon, J. C. Gorman, Max Popper.  
 Panhandle and Ashbury Heights Improvement Club. I. P. Allen,  
 E. L. Head, Paul F. Kingston.  
 Union League Club. H. G. W. Dinkelspiel, Col. J. B. Fuller, Hon.  
 S. M. Shortridge.  
 Veterans' Civil War Association. W. H. H. Hart, John L. Boone,  
 Martin Murray, W. H. Pratt, A. L. Rockwood.  
 Municipal Federation of Improvement Clubs. Nathan Bibb, Capt.  
 Emanuel Lorenzo, Charles Alpers.

Polk Street Improvement Club. A. G. Kleinert, J. W. Quinn, Val Schmidt.  
 Larkin Street Improvement Club. W. T. Kibbler, H. P. McPherson, Joe H. Alfonso.  
 Devisadero Street Improvement Club. H. W. Miller, W. S. Upham, Will C. Hays.  
 Merchants' Improvement Club. Jacob Kallmann, F. T. Knoles, S. E. Ellis.  
 Richmond District Improvement Club. Charles H. Hubbs, Charles F. Muller, E. P. E. Troy.  
 Sixth Street Improvement Club. Larry Walsh, L. V. Merle, Charles Gildea.  
 Commercial Travelers' Association. Samuel Seymour, Emmitt Dunn.  
 Garfield League of San Francisco. E. M. Galvin, T. F. Bachelder, J. J. Meuseses.

## CIVIC ORGANIZATIONS.

Marysville Chamber of Commerce. E. A. Forbes, A. C. Irwin.  
 Vallejo Chamber of Commerce. T. R. Devlin, Hon. J. J. Luchsinger, George J. Campbell, jr.  
 San Diego Chamber of Commerce. George H. Ballou, Philip Morse, Dr. R. M. Powers.  
 Santa Ana Chamber of Commerce. Hon. D. M. Baker.  
 Sacramento Chamber of Commerce. A. C. Hinkson, R. D. Stephens, M. R. Beard.  
 Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce.  
 Los Angeles Board of Trade.  
 Sonoma County Board of Trade. A. B. Lemmon, E. F. Dowd, E. L. Finley.  
 Oakland Board of Trade. M. J. Keller, Charles J. Heesman, George E. Fairchild.  
 San Rafael Board of Trade. Capt. H. A. Gorley, D. W. Martens, M. F. Cochrane.  
 Alameda Board of Trade. C. W. von Radesky, F. N. Delanoy, J. B. Vosburgh.  
 Haywards Board of Trade. George A. Oakes, O. R. Morgan, G. Toyne.  
 Napa Grange. J. S. Taylor, J. J. Swift, Hon. F. E. Johnston.  
 Pomona Board of Trade. Russell K. Pitzer, L. F. Dreher.  
 Corona Board of Trade. J. C. Gleason, William Corkhill, T. P. Drinkwater.  
 San Leandro Board of Trade. O. J. Lynch, J. M. Estudillo, H. A. Morin.  
 Merchants' Exchange of Oakland. Wilber Walker, J. F. W. Sohst, George W. Arper.  
 Woodland Chamber of Commerce. Judge E. E. Gaddis, G. W. Pierce, J. H. Dungan.  
 Humboldt Chamber of Commerce. John C. Bull, jr.  
 Grass Valley Board of Trade. Albert George.  
 Federation of Mission Impt. Clubs. William C. Dubois, George P. Center, Maj. Barna McKinney.  
 Redding Board of Trade. James A. Drynan, George P. Covert, F. P. Prossius.

Society of Old Friends. Dr. C. C. O'Donnell.  
 Star King Council No. 6. C. M. Odell, J. T. Godwin, G. F. Fletcher.

#### ADDITIONAL DELEGATES.

Electrical Workers, Local No. 151. George Cooney, J. J. Gunther,  
 M. J. Sullivan.  
 Native Sons of the Golden West. J. F. Stanley, William P. Johnson,  
 S. A. D. Jones.  
 Socialist Party of City of Santa Clara. Miss J. R. Cole, Joseph Lawrence,  
 Joseph O'Brien.  
 Hesperian Parlor, Native Sons of Golden West. F. G. Norman, jr.,  
 James H. Roxburgh.  
 City of Sonoma. F. S. Duhring, Jo. B. Small, S. Cincci, W. R. Stammers,  
 R. G. Shoults.  
 Steam Laundry Workers, Local No. 26. John D. Campbell, William  
 Downey, Fred Kane.  
 Cigarmakers' Union No. 253, Oakland, Cal. George Wigington, I.  
 Holiday, George R. Permien.  
 City of Visalia. Nem M. Maddox, Susman Mitchell, T. E. Clark,  
 E. C. Larkins, E. M. Jefferds.  
 Hayes Valley Improvement Club. George A. Cutler, Albert J.  
 Schohay, M. S. Cohen.  
 Truck and Teamsters' Union No. 208, Los Angeles. Lee Richardson.  
 Board of Supervisors, Los Angeles. Thomas Hughes.  
 Democratic League of Newspapers of California. T. F. Bonnet,  
 W. D. Wasson, H. A. McCraney, James P. Booth, Mark R.  
 Plaisted.  
 Carpenters and Joiners of America No. 332, Los Angeles, Cal. S. M.  
 Anderson, F. C. Wheeler.  
 Army and Navy League, Santa Clara. J. S. Gage, D. S. Bryant,  
 N. A. Colter.  
 Salinas City, county of Monterey. J. D. Brower, A. B. Jamieson,  
 F. A. Treat, J. H. Kaiser.  
 City of Woodland. Edward E. Leake, Arthur C. Huston.  
 City of Los Angeles. R. N. Bulla, R. F. Del Valle, H. Jebne, Byron  
 Oliver, Frank Walker.  
 San Luis Obispo Parlor, N. S. G. W. T. G. Bowen.  
 City of Alameda. J. N. Young.  
 Vallejo, Cal., United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners. George  
 E. Smith, A. B. Willey, F. Bromwell.  
 Monticello Club of San Francisco. W. W. McNair, William M.  
 Maguire, Col. Thomas F. Barry.  
 Woodland Chamber of Commerce. E. E. Gaddis, Hon. G. W. Pierce,  
 J. H. Dugan.  
 Lower Fruitvale Improvement Club. M. S. Blackburn, A. B. Ingle,  
 H. J. Atkinson.  
 San Francisco Settlement Association. Kendrick C. Babcock, Wil-  
 liam Dumar, Professor Evans.  
 San Francisco Paper Hangers, Fresco Painters. L. F. Danforth, A.  
 Logame, Alene Park.  
 Sacramento, Cal., Cigarmakers' Union No. 238. Michael Kelley,  
 Charles H. Clear.  
 Nevada City. J. F. Colley.

Sonoma County Board of Trade. F. E. Dowd.  
 Marine Cooks and Stewards' Association of the Pacific. C. J. Wardell,  
 William Ozard, Archie Long.  
 Weaverville, Trinity County, Mountain Valley Parlor, N. S. G. W.  
 Robert E. Cochran.  
 San Jose Millmen's Union No. 262. Ed. White.  
 Siskiyou, Cal. L. F. Coburn.  
 Salinas, Cal., American Federation of Labor. A. B. Jamieson, J. D.  
 Brower, J. H. Kaiser.  
 Marysville, Cal. Hon. W. M. Cutter, Jas. K. O'Brien.  
 San Francisco, Cal., Stanford Parlor No. 76, N. S. G. W. Joseph  
 Greenberg, A. P. Giannini.  
 Los Angeles Board of Supervisors. R. J. Adcock.

## NATIVE SONS OF THE GOLDEN WEST.

San Jose Parlor No. 22. Martin J. Welsh, Charles O'Connell.  
 Berkeley Parlor No. 210. Eugene Edwards.  
 Siskiyou Parlor No. 188. J. H. Byrne.  
 Pomona Parlor No. 109. Lew E. Aubury.  
 Excelsior Parlor No. 31. Hon. R. C. Rust.  
 Bay City Parlor No. 104. Sanford Figenbaum, L. H. Brownstone.  
 Sacramento Parlor No. 3. T. A. Cody, L. J. Goldin.  
 Rincon Parlor No. 72. Thomas H. Vivian, William J. Wynn.  
 Precita Parlor No. 187. August Wehman.  
 Golden Gate Parlor No. 28. Percy V. Long, Fred H. Suhr.  
 Olympus Parlor No. 189. Andrew Mocker, William J. Burns.  
 Eldorado Parlor No. 52. John J. Greeley, J. W. Keegan.  
 Palo Alto Parlor No. 82. Thomas Graham, J. L. Koppel.  
 Mission Parlor No. 38. D. B. Bowley, D. I. Troy.  
 Pacific Parlor No. 10. S. V. Costello.  
 Dolores Parlor No. 208. Thomas E. Curran, G. W. Gerland.  
 National Parlor No. 118. G. E. Raubinger, James S. Fennell.  
 California Parlor No. 1. Henry F. Pernau.  
 Sunset Parlor No. 26. C. H. Oatman.  
 Continental League. Otto Ryst, W. H. L. Barnes, Tirey L. Ford,  
 Marshall B. Woodworth, C. D. Peixotto, Amos Currier.  
 Eureka Valley Improvement Club. E. B. Carr, James Gordon.  
 Hickory Club. James W. Buchanan, James F. Walsh, Maurice J.  
 Kirnan.  
 State Officers. J. H. Budd, J. C. Kirkpatrick, Hon. E. F. Tread-  
 well, Hon. H. A. Bauer.  
 California Broom Manufacturers' Association. F. Zan, John P.  
 Henry, John Taylor.  
 Builders' Association of San Jose. F. B. Wise.  
 Women's Union Label League. Mrs. M. L. Rosenburg, Mrs. Villa  
 D. Reynold, Mrs. A. Sorensen.  
 Monticello Club. R. P. Troy.





